

# PEACE NEWS

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union serving all who are working for Peace

No. 15.

London: September 26, 1936.

2d.

## NEW ATTEMPT TO STOP ARMS RACE

### Bold Move by French Premier

A determined effort is being made to call a halt in the mad race for armaments.

Always one of the main features of M. Léon Blum's policy, the French Premier's remarkable degree of success in restoring industrial peace within his own country now makes it possible for him to turn his attention more actively toward the seeking of an international agreement to limit arms. With their usual timidity, the British Government now find it possible to hint at assisting, in a small way, the French initiative only because (according to "The Times")

there are "slight but definite signs in various quarters that even the nations which have led the new race in armaments would be glad of a respite from the psychological and economic pressures engendered thereby."

### Importance of British Attitude

WITH a boldness unusual among democratic countries in these days, M. Blum proposes that, on the one hand, the bogey of Germany should cease to be regarded as an obstruction to an arms limitation agreement, but that, on the other, all suspicion of Germany's being on an unequal footing with other countries should at last be swept away.

Even before he became Prime Minister, M. Blum advocated

if possible, a disarmament convention agreed to by Germany; OR if necessary, a convention with Germany's adherence; BUT

in any case, a convention with as much consideration for Germany's case as if she were present.

If the latter alternative had to be resorted to, it would be followed by a simple testing of Germany's sincerity by the presentation of the agreement to her for acceptance or rejection.

#### OFFICIAL FRENCH POLICY

Now that he is Prime Minister, with a strong Popular Front backing (provided that, as he seems to have shown to be the case, he can withstand industrial disturbances involving his own supporters), M. Blum is making this the official policy of his country. In a very important secret conversation with Mr. Eden on Sunday evening he is believed, in fact, to have discussed the possibility of putting that policy into effect now despite the warlike atmosphere almost throughout Europe.

Since M. Blum does not intend France to take one-sided action in the matter of armament limitation, everything at any rate just at this time, depends upon the attitude of Great Britain.

Inseparably linked with any effort to limit armaments, the future relations

of the Locarno Powers—France, Germany, Belgium, Great Britain, and Italy—were the main topic of the same conversation between Mr. Eden and M. Blum, with a view to paving the way for the Five-Power Conference which it is proposed to hold about the end of next month and to which the British Government invited the countries concerned on Friday of last week.

During the negotiations preparatory to the conference, Italy, according to Signor Gayda (who generally reflects official opinion in the "Giornale d'Italia", which he edits), will seek to "clarify" the terms on which she will cooperate with former sanctionist countries in regard to European politics generally as well as to Locarno in particular.

The British, French and Belgium attitudes were expressed, after those countries met in London, on July 23 in the principles that a settlement must be sought for Europe in general, and that "nothing could be more fatal than the division, apparent or real, of Europe into opposing blocs".

#### SUGGESTED NEW TREATY

In her invitation to the Five-Power Conference, Great Britain indicated that she still stood by those principles, but, in view of Germany's refusal to sit in conference with the U.S.S.R. (indicated on the occasion of the Nazi Party Congress at Nuremberg), pointed out that the first stage of the negotiations need only concern Western Europe. The Note is understood to have contained also a draft of a new Locarno Treaty with the following differences from the old:

1. Great Britain to be a guaranteed, as well as a guarantor, Power.
2. No Demilitarized Zone.
3. Air forces to be limited.

While agreeing, in general terms, France is anxious that the general settlement should follow immediately on that for the West.

German press comment on the British invitation to the Five-Power Conference dismisses the idea that the anti-Russian outburst at Nuremberg is a serious obstacle to agreement at the conference, but shows that the limitation of that agreement to the West is desired and no commitment in Eastern Europe.

## PACIFIST CLERGY AND THE CHURCH

### Offer to meet "Spiritual Authorities"

OUR attitude is not one merely of non-resistance but of non-violent resistance, and we believe that that attitude only implements the verdict of the official Church that "all war is contrary to the mind of Christ."

This statement is made by Canon H. R. L. Sheppard in a letter to the press in which he says "the time has come when clergy of the Church of England, of all schools of thought, who are resolved to have nothing to do with war, or preparations for war, should make their position as constructive pacifists perfectly clear to their spiritual authorities."

He goes on to make the specific suggestion that

we should approach the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and ask them if they will receive us at Lambeth, both to hear our reasoned statement on this issue and to tell us frankly in what way we seem to them to be lacking in loyalty to the mind of Christ and the Catholic Church,

and asks all the clergy who are in favour of such action to write him to that effect at once.

### PEACE PLEDGE TEAMS

"Public opinion is ready for a new lead: let us give it!" says Mr. John Barclay, the new Travelling Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, in a special message to PEACE NEWS. He adds:

Within the next few weeks I hope to make personal contact with many groups of the P.P.U. and written contact with others. I feel there is great need for a federating of teams and a direct channel for information from Regent Street to each individual of each team.

#### WOMEN MEMBERS WANTED

The need for women members is felt particularly by the Chesterfield team of the Union, but the names of all signatories in the district who have not yet joined the team would be welcomed by the secretary, Robert J. Bowyer, of Rouse Street, Pilsley, Chesterfield. In addition to a meeting with the local Fellowship of Reconciliation on Friday, it is hoped to have a joint public propaganda meeting early in October.

In the absence of Captain Mumford (who, our readers will be sorry to learn, has not been well), Mr. John Barclay spoke at the inaugural meeting of the Forest Gate team, on Friday of last week, on the general aims and purposes of the Union, after which a committee was formed consisting of the chairman, two secretaries, treasur-

er, and propaganda secretary (one of whose duties is to act as PEACE NEWS representative).

The Organizing Secretary (Miss Rayne) deputized for Captain Mumford at a meeting of the Reigate team on Friday of last week. The group decided to meet for team discussion and fellowship on Tuesdays and Thursdays to enable as many as possible to participate. Local signatories not already in touch can communicate with William A. Comber, 7 Hilltop Road, Reigate.

#### THE POSITIVE PROGRAMME

A successful inaugural meeting took place in Sheffield on Thursday of last week, some ninety members attending. The chair was taken by Mr. Frank Dawtry, the convener of the meeting, and the speaker from headquarters was Brig.-Gen. Crozier, who referred to the fact that more than 600 men in Sheffield had signed the peace pledge, and said it was a movement open to men and women of all creeds. It was necessary to concentrate on the positive side and continue to press for a real world conference devoid of all force, composed of representatives on an equality. A temporary committee was appointed with the Rev. J. C. Burton, of Rotherham, as chairman.

A group meeting, at which team leaders from eight or nine districts in the area gave reports, was held in Walthamstow last week, when the Chingford teams in particular reported great activity, PEACE NEWS being sold regularly on the streets. Suggestions were made for a library and an information bureau. (Information by post is obtainable from the Peace News Information Bureau, 59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11.) Mr. J. B. Barclay outlined his hopes of closer union between teams, groups, and areas.

### "NO MORE WAR" BRANCH

A branch of the No More War Movement was started at a meeting at Cardiff on Tuesday of last week, when it was decided to hold monthly discussion meetings. The first of these will be on October 9, when Aldous Huxley's pamphlet "What are you going to do about it?" will be the subject for discussion.

PEACE NEWS is grateful to the publishers of The Hibbert Journal (Messrs. Constable, 12 Orange Street, London, W.C.2. 3s. 6d. quarterly) for permission to publish extracts from Stephen Hobhouse's article, "Ought we to fight?"

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FILL IN THE FORM  
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## Peace Pledge Union

# TEAMS GETTING DOWN TO WORK : : "Dick" Sheppard at Hounslow : : Activity at Headquarters

From Our Own Correspondents

THE new Travelling Secretary, Mr. J. B. Barclay, is not waiting for his official commencement with the Peace Pledge Union (on October 3) before getting down to work for the Union.

He will be at **Bermondsey** on October 2 for the inaugural meeting of the team there. On the following day he will be at another inaugural meeting, this time at **Slough**.

The coming together of signatories of the pledge who have not so far met each other is taking place in other parts of the country, and at the inaugural meeting of the **Shrewsbury** team on Tuesday Mr. Collin Smith will be the speaker. Similar meetings to be held at **Southport, Coventry, and Southend-on-Sea** on September 29 and October 2 and 3 respectively will be addressed by Canon Morris.

A team of 35 members has been formed at **Cambridge**, and on Monday Captain Mumford will be speaking to them on the Union and its organization. On Thursday General Crozier will be at **Doncaster**, where a meeting is being held at 8 p.m. in the Friends' Meeting House.

Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard will be one of the speakers at a public meeting on November 2, which has been arranged by the **Brentford, Isleworth, Hounslow and Twickenham** teams. The Rev. Alan Balding and Mr. Karlin Capper Johnson will be the other speakers at this meeting, which will take place in the Congregational Church, Hanworth Road, Hounslow, at 8 p.m.

The **Enfield** team at a meeting last week decided to appoint a PEACE NEWS representative, a publicity secretary and a woman to represent the particular interests of the women members.

A team of ten members in **Becnotree** is carrying on canvassing work in the district, using leaflets and pledge

cards printed on their own duplicator. The results so far have been very gratifying and the team is now preparing for a public meeting which will be held on October 12.

At a meeting of the **Northampton** team on Tuesday of last week, it was decided to divide the town into five areas with a group leader for each. Groups to specialize in publicity, correspondence, speaking, and literature have also been formed.

Pacifists in the **Barnet** district are having a social evening, for the purpose of getting acquainted, in Mill-cent Café, New Barnet, at 7 p.m. on October 31. (Tickets, price 1s. 6d. from Mr. P. Bateman, "Chalfont", Lyonsdown Avenue, East Barnet, Herts.)

## ...and Miss Regent\* writes:

There have been two new publications this week, **The Political Basis of the Union**—a free leaflet—and **Is Pacifism Scientific or Sentimental?**—a 2d. pamphlet. Both will be reviewed in PEACE NEWS shortly.

Head Office is now having a quarter of a million envelopes addressed for the circularization of our members twice. Many voluntary helpers are assisting in this huge task.

Some of our voluntary helpers have been quite invaluable. One of our members put in all our electric fittings (and at intervals took charge of the switch board and of would-be purchasers of literature, and advised on all practical problems) at no charge to the P.P.U.

Two of our group leaders have done immensely useful work in the office, such as making an inventory of all literature, stamping the change of address on pamphlets, notepaper, etc., and conveying our now enormous post to the post office.

M.R.

\* Under this nom-de-plume we shall give from time to time informal notes from headquarters.

## A COVENTRY MANIFESTO

The Coventry Fellowship of Christian Pacifists has published a manifesto, in which they declare that they

are convinced that so long as the threat of armed force is retained the attainment of international peace and justice is impossible; only so far as we are prepared to trust others can we expect others to trust us, and we therefore express our hope and desire that our country will have the courage and the vision to affirm, through complete disarmament, its belief in the inherent power of a great moral action.

Anyone who is in sympathy with the aims of the Fellowship, and desires to be associated with those of like mind, is invited to communicate with the secretary, Miss M. E. Fisher, 28 St. Andrew's Road, Coventry.

## COUNCIL OF ACTION

Just fourteen months after its formation the rapid growth of the Council of Action for Peace and Reconstruction all over the country has necessitated the removal to larger premises at Horseferry House (Dean Ryle Street), Horseferry Road, London, S.W.1.

The council is active in local peace councils and at present is cooperating in the organization of a peace week in Sunderland.

## Fellowship of Reconciliation

# THE ALTERNATIVE TO WAR

## A Friendly World

From Our Own Correspondents

"A friendly world, or—perish!" were the dramatic and uncompromising alternatives placed before a crowded public meeting on Wednesday of last week organized by Winchmore Hill Fellowship of Reconciliation and addressed by the Rev. B. C. Hopson, Vicar of Cockfosters.

Fear, he said, disunited the world, was directly responsible for war, and was, indeed, the primary cause of the unspeakable atrocities which were staining for ever the history of Spain. Mr. Hopson denounced the armaments which induce that fear, pointing out that the moment they made us feel secure the other man felt insecure.

He gave it as his fixed opinion that war and Christianity could no more mix than could fire and water. For, while the Christian must be prepared to face pain and death, God had forbidden him to inflict them on others.

At a meeting arranged by the Finchley and district group of the Fellowship, to be held on Thursday in Granville Hall, Granville Road, North Finchley, Bernard Lawson will speak on "The outlook for the conscientious objector to war".

## NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL

# Plea for Mediation in Spain

Local Councils and L.C.C.

A CALL to the British Government "to utilize the forthcoming meetings of the Assembly of the League of Nations for an urgent appeal in favour of a united mediation, designed to bring the war to an end, and to enable the elected Government of Spain to restore peaceful conditions and to promote the well-being of the Spanish people" is contained in a resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the National Peace Council on Thursday of last week.

The National Council is also making preparations for the publication of the "Peace Year Book" for 1937. A collection is being made of international posters of a pictorial nature, which will form the subject of a special feature of the book.

Any material for inclusion in the year book—especially such posters and peace publications which have appeared during the year—should be sent to the National Peace Council at 39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

Many local peace councils are holding meetings to hear the reports of their delegates to the world Peace Congress at Brussels. In the London area protests are being made against the action of the London County Council in refusing leave of absence, without pay, to members of their staff attending the congress.

A resolution to this effect was passed by a conference of local organizations held in Islington on Wednesday of last week, which had been called to form a local peace council.

Monday will be the opening day of the peace week arranged by **Merseyside** Peace Council. Two peace shops, numerous indoor and outdoor meetings, and peace sermons in some of the churches will be among the features of the week, which will conclude on October 4.

The film "All Quiet on the Western Front" is to be shown at the Prince

HAVE YOU TRIED  
getting  
PEACE NEWS  
into your local  
PUBLIC LIBRARY

of Wales News Cinema from Monday to Wednesday. On the final day of the peace week there will be a "march for peace" in the afternoon from St. George's Plateau to Sheil Park, where addresses will be given by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and others. In the evening there will be a public meeting in Picton Hall, at which the speakers will be Miss Pankhurst, Leonard Barnes and a Christian pacifist.

Yet another peace week is the one arranged by the **Southend and District** Peace Council. In addition to meetings and demonstrations, efforts will be made to get a central peace shop and one of the anti-war exhibitions. Local cinema managers are being approached to show films of an anti-war character.

In connexion with the week there will be a special poster campaign and parade. Anyone willing to join the parade, or who wants posters for the occasion, or who can help defray the cost should write to Mr. P. Lee, 94 Park Road, Southend-on-Sea.

This peace council's delegates to the Brussels congress will give their reports to a meeting in Ravens Cafe at 8 p.m. on Monday.

A mass demonstration tomorrow, planned to be bigger even than their last effort, was designed so as to cover

(continued at foot of col. 4)

## No More War Movement

# MORE CONFERENCE PLANS

## Campaign in the Country

ARRANGEMENTS for the annual conference of the No More War Movement are nearing completion.

Opening with a churches' conference on October 16 in the Folk House, College Green, Bristol, to be addressed by the Rev. C. G. Langdon, of London, the conference will conclude with a public meeting in the Olympia Cinema, Carey's Lane, on October 18. Tickets for the latter, which will be addressed by Lord Ponsonby, Laurence Housman, and others, may be obtained for 6d. and 1s. from the local honorary secretary, W. H. Chris Lewis, 37 Chandos Road, Redland, Bristol 6.

The speaker at the educational conference in the Folk House on the Saturday afternoon will be Harold F. Bing, and his subject, "Education and constructive peace". The chair will be taken by Dr. Hilda W. Oldham.

A big campaign for a series of public meetings during the autumn is being planned from headquarters. Places which are already earmarked for visits by national speakers include

Bournemouth, Bristol, Ashford (Kent), Southend, Norwich, Harrogate, Bradford, Hull, Rawdon, Sheffield, Newcastle, and Glasgow.

In connexion with the campaign some of the branches are taking steps to secure the showing in the cinemas of "Kameradschaft".

## YOUTH HOUSE PROGRAMME

The autumn programme of Youth House (250 Camden Road, London, N.W.1) is already in full swing. In addition to regular features of the club, such as German classes on Thursdays, there are special meetings every Monday.

On October 19, for example, Mr. B. Ungerson, of the British Youth Peace Assembly, will be the speaker, to be followed on the next Monday evening by Mr. R. Titmus, who will talk on the recent World Youth Congress at Geneva.

## ESSAYS ON THE LEAGUE

In order to encourage interest in the work of the League of Nations, the London Regional Federation of the League of Nations Union invites essays from young people up to the age of 19 years.

Book prizes, (or the option of attending a summer school) and certificates will be awarded to successful essayists.

Full information will be supplied on application to the federation at 43 Russell Square, London, W.C.1.

(continued from col. 3)

the whole of **Hull**. Even the surrounding villages have not been overlooked, and there have been arrangements made for processions to converge on the centre of the city from quite a number of points.

It is proposed to hold a peace week in **Oxford** from November 8 to 15, to consist of intensive propaganda in the form of open-air meetings, poster parades, leaflet distribution, and a meeting in the Town Hall on November 11.

Dr. Gilbert Murray, who will preside at the Armistice Day meeting, is president of the local peace council, and the vice-presidents include Professor Lascelles Abercrombie, Mr. G. D. H. Cole, Mr. C. Fenby (who is editor of the "Oxford Mail"), and Dr. Henry T. Gillett. The secretary is Miss Vera Scott, of 78 St. Clements, Oxford.



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# OSSIETZKY TO BE FREED?

## Effect of World-Wide Protest

### "What Was His Crime?"

THE case of Carl von Ossietzky is the subject of a sixpenny pamphlet published by Gollancz on Monday of last week, and entitled **What was his Crime?**

Readers will remember that three weeks ago we told of the world-wide drive which is being made to confer upon this German pacifist the Nobel Prize for Peace.

"What was his Crime?" is described in the forward as a study "undertaken in the hope that its composition may be taken into consideration by the awarders of the Nobel Peace Prize", and has been compiled by A. Williams-Ellis, with the support of fourteen prominent people including Norman Angell, Gerald Heard, Aldous Huxley, J. B. Priestley, and H. G. Wells.

It describes the work which Ossietzky has done in the cause of peace, and attempts to give some idea of what he has had to suffer since 1933 as a result of his convictions.

The fact that his release is under consideration was contained in a statement issued by the Ministry of Propaganda on Thursday of last week, which stated that Ossietzky is suffering from heart disease and is at present in the police department of the State Hospital in Berlin.

Three years of imprisonment in a concentration camp have broken his health and the authorities are apparently unwilling to be made responsible for allowing him to die in prison.

## GERMAN SEEKS EX-ENEMY

### Greetings to Unknown Comrade

One of the ironies of war is the fact that men kill other men with whom they have no personal quarrel. It happened during the Great War that the men in the trenches called an armistice on their own account and openly fraternized with the "enemies" whom they were supposed to hate and kill. The same topsy-turvy world is revealed in a letter recently received in London, written by a German war veteran from Munich. This German had rescued a wounded British officer from a dug-out and had carried him to a hospital. Now he is trying to find his one-time enemy. This is what he wrote:

Where are you, comrade? Lieutenant Anderson, of the Lincolnshire Regiment. On the 27th and 28th of November, 1917, you were seriously wounded in the attack at Cambrai.

You were shot in the stomach and I carried you out from your dug-out in front of Epehie (Villers au Treu). After a march of five hours we reached our assembly place where I handed you over to the Medical Corps.

What has become of you and where are you now? I would be very interested to know whether you got back to England safe and sound. Can I ask you to send me a word?

With comradely greeting  
Wilhelm Walbert.  
(Notrontier News Service).

Governments will be only too pleased, believe me, to be forced into the paths of peace. Pressure must be organized without reference to party—on all parties through the people.—Mr. Lloyd George, in an address at the City Temple, 1934.



WHO NEXT, BROTHER?

by Arthur Wragg

## AUSTRIAN CAMPAIGN AGAINST BRUSSELS CONGRESS

### Catholic Newspaper's Opposition

From Our Own Correspondent

THAT there is a most striking difference between Christianity and catholicism in Austria is probably nowhere more clearly proven than just at present in the attitude of outspoken hostility with which the catholic press is still treating the International Peace Congress at Brussels.

As soon as propaganda in favour of the congress commenced, the leading organ of Austrian catholicism, the "Reichspost", was against the congress. It declared it to be a "bolshevik affair", although a mere glance at the list of those under whose auspices the congress was convened proved beyond doubt that whatever one could, and might, say against the intrinsic value of the congress, it was absurd to call it a bolshevik affair.

Here it could be clearly seen that just those who are the pillars of conditions which give rise to the lamentable doctrines of bolshevism, or whose methods of thinking and acting are really bolshevik—as is the case with Hitlerism—are the loudest shouters against it.

Not because they expect thereby to overcome it, but because they wish to uphold the very system of violence, militarism and war, of which bolshevism is a branch.

## YOUNG FRENCH AND GERMANS MEET

A party of one hundred young members of the French "Union Fédérale des Anciens Combattants" was invited by the German government to spend three weeks in Germany. Commenting on the results of the visit, the French newspaper "Le Barrage" says:

These young people met with a perfect reception; they talked with our young neighbours; they were not able to approve of the way things are done in the new Germany, and had even to establish some complete differences between our ideas and those of the young Hitlerites, but that did not stop them from exclaiming "Long live peace through the coming together of youth!"

While with most venomous hatred the "Reichspost" in Vienna was reporting the peace congress at Brussels, it was at the same time parading under the disguise of defending peace. And when it learned that some representative people of Austria were delegated to the congress, it wrote in its issue of September 4:—

Who is this committee? We actually find some catholic personalities in it . . . This so-called Austrian delegation has no right to call itself legitimately a representation of Austrian catholics . . .

This demonstrative repudiation is all the more remarkable, as it is not in any way accompanied by any call for another international peace congress which would show the Austrian Catholics to be consistent adherents of peace than those who went to Brussels.

It is as clear as daylight that the "Reichspost" is attacking those who went to the congress from Austria not because they are bolsheviks, but because that journal is afraid that the question could be asked: Is a Catholic a Christian if, like the "Reichspost" is doing, he is mouthing "peace", but at the same time is justifying the policy of government in reconstructing militarism for the event of war? Is such a Catholic not much more a bolshevik than both can be Christians?

## WAR RESISTERS IN RUMANIA

"I shall not go" was the answer given to a Rumanian member of the War Resisters' International who recently travelled from village to village in that country, asking peasants and landworkers what they would do in another war.

These unorganized peasants and workers constitute a very large body of the people; they say that "war only rewarded their fathers with misery and bullets, and it is not necessary to go to war to get such a reward!"

As proof of their sincerity (says a report in "The War Resister") can be cited the number of fugitives from war service, a greater number than from any other country in Europe.

## BELGIAN MINISTER ON WAR

### "Most Cruel of Facts"

THE realization that armaments will never be able to bring security to Belgium is being reached by many people in that country, where the French General Staff is blamed for the increases in Belgium's armaments.

"It is a great responsibility", said the socialist minister Spaak in a recent speech, "to place the masses in the position of having to choose between the fight for justice and the maintenance of peace."

"Above all I should try to keep peace. Right is a conception of our mind, it is always open to discussion; never will it be an absolute certainty."

"War, on the other hand, is a fact, the most cruel of facts. I tremble before that strange pacifism which does not hesitate to employ war to insist on the maintenance of peace."

## GROWING USE OF ESPERANTO

### Business Men's Aid

COUNTRIES as far apart as Brazil and Finland, Italy and Japan, are among those in which Esperanto has continued its steady progress during the past year, while in Germany, on the other hand, the Esperanto Association has been compulsory liquidated.

The need for an international language in business is being more widely understood, and the Trade Fair of Vienna advertizes in Esperanto, while the Rio de Janeiro Samples Fair uses it for correspondence, as does the International and Commercial Fair at Bruges.

Special Esperanto courses for members of the police force are a feature in Prague and Rotterdam, while wireless instruction in the language is provided by the authorities in many countries.

A growing appreciation of its use amongst tourists is indicated by the number of countries which publish literature in this language.



## PEACE NEWS

Editorial Office:

59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11.

Tel: Enterprise 1888.

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union  
Taking the Constructive Pacifist Position, but  
providing news, information and an open forum  
Serving all who are working for Peace

September 26, 1936.

## THREE CRITICISMS

WHEN all the usual criticism of pacifism is stripped of its absurdities, its minor misunderstandings, its naivetes, its confusions, and its inconsistencies (not to mention its less creditable elements) there remain three fundamental obstacles to the non-pacifist's acceptance of "the case for constructive peace".

The first is but a misunderstanding—the false notion that the pacifist proposes to put his new "wine" into the old "bottle" of imperialism. But it is a common and a major misunderstanding, due as much to ignorance of the case as to a deliberate ignoring of it. As Lord Ponsonby wrote in a letter to "The Times" last week, the pacifist's attitude is "so often misunderstood owing to the meagre publicity accorded to pacifist utterances". (That, incidentally, is one of the reasons for the appearance of PEACE NEWS.) But wherever and whenever he gets the chance the pacifist must make it plain beyond all possibility of doubt that it is just the policy of self-seeking of which the possession of empires and other advantages is but an expression that is at the very root of war, and that if we are to renounce war we must renounce also imperialist and other self-seeking policies. In other, and more positive, words, the refusal to fight is but one side of the pacifist's attitude, of which the other side is the conducting of human relationships on "the pacifist principle of cooperation for the common good".

The second, and more difficult, obstacle is the more or less sincere belief that the potential enemy has an inferior code of morality—so base, in fact, that the enemy remains unaffected by all appeals to morality, even the supreme appeal of acceptance of suffering without retaliation. In assisting the making of contacts with people from other countries, therefore (as in such ventures as are described on this page, for example), the pacifist is doing a really constructive and valuable bit of peace-making. But he has also to emphasize in all his propaganda the conviction that mankind is one, that, at rock-bottom, there is something common to all men, and that, addressed in that common "language", the worst enemy will understand—and understanding is the beginning of friendship. That is why pacifism is described as a faith, whether religious or not.

The responsibility involved in the third, and most difficult, obstacle is one that no pacifist can shift to another, even in the way that the responsibility for propaganda can be delegated to those who have some special gift for it. For the difficulty is the individual critic's frank disbelief, even when he has a fair understanding of the pacifist case, in its efficacy, in "the power of non-violence" and all that belongs to non-violence. For this the pacifist has no possible reply but actual example, and obviously no better example than his own. So that although the pacifist has a duty to know the facts of examples set by others (as related, for instance, in Gregg's "Power of Non-Violence"), he has an even greater duty to seek every opportunity, however small, of expressing the spirit and principles of non-violence in all his contacts with his fellows.

# Peace through FRIENDSHIPS —NOT Battleships

G. J. G. SMITH

here tells

HOW A SERMON MADE FRIENDS  
of German and French guests of English people in  
West Wickham, Kent. This very evening the organizers of the effort are meeting to decide how to follow it up.

THE rearmament policies of the world's governments were mentioned in a sermon preached by the Rev. H. K. Percival Smith at St. Mary of Nazareth Church, West Wickham.

"Is this new armaments race", he asked, "the best method that humanity can devise for the future happiness of the world?"

A meeting for men was subsequently called to discuss the position and to see if there was agreement on this policy, or to see if anything could be done to counteract these manifestly foolish attitudes of governments.

The group decided to base its activities

"on the assumption that the 'will for peace' is existent in the hearts of individual men and women of the countries of Europe,"

and to

"seek to give collective expression to this feeling in an endeavour to promote an atmosphere of real 'world brotherhood'."

The first line of action decided upon was to invite people from Europe to stay in the homes of people in West Wickham.

AN appeal was made for offers of accommodation, funds and any other help, and arrangements were finally made for twenty-five German and French visitors to come for a fortnight in August.

For some months before the arrival of the visitors, weekly meetings for prayer and study were held, as it was realized that it was necessary to obtain and radiate the right kind of atmosphere.

A committee was formed to make arrangements, and a programme of visits and entertainments was organized. This served the double purpose of allowing the visitors to see the sights, and of freeing the hosts and hostesses from the responsibility of the continuous entertaining of their guests.

THE programme included:—

- a welcome party;
- an all day ramble;
- a night trip to London;
- a garden party;
- a party given by the West Wickham Branch of Toc H; and
- visits to the Bermondsey Employment Exchange, and to Peek Freen's Biscuit Factory.

Many trips were made to the places of interest in and around London, such as the Houses of Parliament, the City, Hampton Court, Windsor, Croydon Airport, etc.

ON the last Saturday there was a farewell party in the church hall, after which we were presented with the pictures which can now be seen there, and Dr. Neumann, from the Anglo-German Bureau, made this remark:

As we make friends with those from other lands, we find there are no "foreigners".

Volunteers conducted the party on all occasions and it was thus possible to cover many places of interest.

It is interesting to note that the welcoming party was attended by 150 residents.

Although a programme of games and songs had been prepared, it was not needed, as all visitors and residents alike were happy and too busy talking.

It was an amazing evening and it was difficult to bring to an end. The sing-songs were also a great hit, each nationality contributing its own songs, and all joining in with our own community singing. The farewell party

was a fitting ending to a wonderful fortnight.

At the conclusion, speeches were made on behalf of German and French parties, all stressing the fact that friendship between the peoples can be an established fact so that in time and through friendship there will be no foreigners.

After the German party had sung their lullaby "Guten Abend, Gute Nacht" all joined hands for "Auld Lang Syne", and then still with hands joined all dedicated themselves to the future building of friendship and peace between the peoples of the world using the words of the old hymn "God be in my head and in my understanding".

SINCE leaving, several visitors have sent letters which show that the idea of friendship and the recognition that the misunderstandings of the past can be overcome in the future by genuine desire to give and take, are in the minds of all who took part in that memorable fortnight.

Here is an opportunity for anyone to accept responsibility for building the peace of the world as it has now been proved that it is a task which ordinary men can tackle, and abundantly proved that it is well worth while.

All those who helped with the organization of this effort in West Wickham this year, would be glad, out of the experience gained, to assist any who are thinking of starting a similar venture elsewhere. Applications for details of this kind should be made to G. J. G. Smith, 33 Silver Lane, West Wickham, Kent.

## IT SEEMS TO ME . . . .

by Ampersand

## Science Takes Stock

THE meeting of the British Association at Blackpool provided a picture of scientists peering out of the laboratory-window at a world they have made possible, but unfortunately not made.

Most of them were profoundly shocked at the sight. And it was a very humble and heart-searching body that hunted for the slip between their neat blue-prints and a brutal and chaotic reality.

The conclusion which remarkably many of them came to was the same as that of the peace movement. The snag, they agreed, lay in our failure to make moral and spiritual progress at the same rate as material.

"The whole body of ethics needs to be reworked in the light of modern corporate relations," declared Sir Josiah Stamp, citing the joint stock company which, because it is impersonal, has no moral code at all. And Lord Horder spoke of "achieving that control in the spiritual sphere which alone can bring salvation to the human race."

It is clear that mankind has to make a colossal moral effort if it is to use the powers science has given it for life and not for death. But another

point arises.

In face of bacteriological bombs and poison-gas research, can science itself remain above ethics and wash its hands of consequences? There was a strong feeling at Blackpool that it couldn't.

## Warlike or What?

THE American "Nation" recently devoted an editorial to the increasingly warlike appearance of England. The recruiting posters plastered all over the depressed areas, the flashes of tanks, battleships and bombers that end movie programmes, the aerial manoeuvres and wheeling searchlights that fill the night sky—to the "Nation" these things seemed to indicate a new and dangerously martial spirit.

The deduction is perfectly reasonable, and it is a reminder what our "defence" looks like to foreigners. But is all this really a sign of public pugnacity, or isn't it rather an effort to infuse into the people a war-mentality which just isn't there?

It is a pity that the editors of the "Nation" couldn't wait for a revealing item of news that came on the heels of their diagnosis. The Secretary of State for War recently announced the creation of a Supplement-

ary Reserve for unmarried men between 17 and 25, initial establishment 17,000.

On September 1 recruiting was thrown open with a flourish. Of Britain's 3,000,000 bellicose young men the number that rushed to take up arms was—286.

## Peace in the Air

"NATION shall speak peace unto nation", says the legend that surrounds the B.B.C.'s starry emblem on Broadcasting House. And on the whole radio has probably the cleanest record of any of the great inventions that may be used either for good or evil.

French audiences listening to the Beethoven Ninth from Berlin, Germans hearing César Franck from Paris, have the best possible proof that the man over the frontier isn't such a barbarian after all.

Last week's "Broadcasting and Peace" Conference, at which 31 nations met to sign a draft convention banning strife-making broadcasts from the air, was in radio's best tradition.

And—like the Postal Union or the Orient Express—it was another of those astonishing pieces of international organization that we take for granted.

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## POSITIVE

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WE, the our cc circumstance manity. We method of w peace and s these statem form of ma conducted b alliance of n Nations.

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## SOME OF Associated

Rev. Henry Canon Peter Rev. Walter Haden, Prof Canon Stuart Perkins, Canon Leyton Rich Sheppard, P rager Hon. l Fry, Wilfrid Bartlett.

## Political

Lords Arnol and Sanders George D. H bury, M.P., Fred. Messe M.P., Rev.

# IPS

## National Manifesto for Peace and Disarmament

We have received from a Special Correspondent a copy of a "Manifesto for Peace and Disarmament", which has been signed by four peers, nine Members of Parliament, several Labour Party candidates and nearly 150 others whose names are well known in religious, literary, scientific, and other spheres.

The text of the manifesto is quoted in full below, with the names of a few representative signatories.

### POSITIVE POLICY WANTED

#### Increasing Arms No Defence

WE, the undersigned, are united in our conviction that war in any circumstances is a crime against humanity. We are also agreed that the method of war can never ensure lasting peace and security. We believe that these statements are true, whether the form of mass violence called war is conducted by a single nation, by an alliance of nations or by the League of Nations.

Modern warfare involves the use of aircraft with the bombing, gassing, and massacre of helpless and innocent men, women and children, as well as the perversion and degradation of human personality. We will neither participate in any acts of war nor prepare for them.

We, therefore, protest against the present policy of increased armaments, which so far from assuring defence and giving peace and security, threatens to provoke an infinitely worse catastrophe than that of 1914-1918.

Another world war would mean the end of civilization. The conscience of humanity demands that such a tragedy shall not overwhelm the world. Multitudes of men and women in our own country will actively resist any war.

The League of Nations should be made an effective instrument for promoting peace, while its powers for conciliation, treaty revision and territorial change should be increased.

Armed force should be eliminated from the Covenant of the League and its economic, social and humanitarian activities should be more vigorously developed.

There can be no settled peace until there is justice between nations and within nations.

We proclaim the need for the immediate summoning of a world conference to examine, discuss and settle, with full regard to the real interests of the populations involved, the economic and territorial grievances which lie at the root of most international enmities today.

The people of this country should make it clear to the world that our representatives would go to the conference prepared to share in any sacrifices which might be necessary, and to rely on the spirit of justice and not on armed force.

We call for support for the policy from all who desire a real and lasting peace.

#### SOME OF THE SIGNATORIES

**Associated with religious bodies:**  
Rev. Henry Carter, Dr. Herbert Gray, Canon Peter Green, Dr. A. J. Grieve, Rev. Walter Long, Rev. William H. Haden, Prof. G. H. C. MacGregor, Canon Stuart Morris, Rev. E. Benson Perkins, Canon Charles E. Raven, Rev. Leyton Richards, Canon H. R. L. Sheppard, Principal J. S. Whale, Dowager Hon. Lady Barlow, Miss Ruth Fry, Wilfrid E. Littleboy, Percy W. Bartlett.

**Political and social movements:**  
Lords Arnold, Faringdon, Ponsonby, and Sanderson; James Barr, M.P., George D. Hardie, M.P., George Lansbury, M.P., H. G. McGhee, M.P., Fred. Messer, M.P., Alfred Salter, M.P., Rev. Reginald Sorensen, M.P.,

### Spain

#### DEMAND FOR PRESSURE ON PORTUGAL

THE sub-committee appointed to assist the chairman of the international committee supervising the Spanish non-intervention agreement, held its first meeting in London on September 15.

An urgent communication, asking for cooperation, if not actual participation by Portugal in the committee's work, was sent to the Portuguese Government by the committee at its last meeting, but no reply had been received by the time the full committee again met on Monday.

It was reported that the French Premier, at his interview with Mr. Eden in Paris on Sunday, urged that action should be taken against Portugal if she persisted in her present course. According to the "Manchester Guardian", Mr. Eden "was 'sympathetic' but no more".

Mr. Eden was reported to have had a conversation on the question with Senhor Monteiro of Portugal, at Geneva on Monday.

Meanwhile, the activity of various organizations continues, and the British Women's Peace Crusade addressed an appeal last week to each of the groups fighting, urging them to do all in their power to protect the lives of women, children, prisoners, and hostages, and to save them from suffering.

A resolution calling for the "strongest possible pressure" on Portugal to see that the policy of non-intervention is effectively applied, was passed by the Council of the Liberal Party Organization on September 16.

### NEW OUTLOOK NEEDED

#### From Our Own Correspondent

"Unless there is a radical change of hope and outlook by the British people, war is as certain as you are sitting in these seats tonight" said Dr. Alfred Salter at a meeting held at Kenton on Wednesday of last week which had been arranged by the Harrow branches of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Christian Pacifist groups.

In an address bristling with hard economic facts and practical knowledge of problems as they are, Dr. Salter could not paint a very bright picture for the immediate future. Great Britain and the U.S.A. were above all others responsible for the present behaviour of the "have not" countries.

The Rev. C. Paul Gliddon, who was the other speaker, saw hope in the fact that there was now a great awakening. People everywhere, he said, whatever their methods, were working toward the ideal of justice.

Ellen Wilkinson, M.P., Cecil H. Wilson, M.P., Sir Ben Turner, James H. Hudson, and a considerable number of Parliamentary candidates; Brig.-Gen. Crozier, Capt. Mumford, Mrs. Eleanor Barton, and Mrs. H. M. Swanwick.

**Scientists and Writers:** Sir Arthur S. Eddington, Sir A. D. Hall, Gerald Heard, Laurence Housman, Aldous Huxley, Rose Macaulay.

Those in general agreement with the manifesto are invited to communicate with Cecil H. Wilson, M.P., at the House of Commons, London, S.W.1.

## PUBLIC AFFAIRS IN BRIEF

### FRANCE

The first of a series of meetings of representatives of employers and men in the textile industry was held in Paris on September 16, under the chairmanship of M. Blum, at which the employers' delegates put forward proposals to end the strikes in the industry. The discussions lasted two days and on the evening of September 17 an agreement was signed, providing for the evacuation of factories occupied by "stay-in" strikers.

An official announcement made on September 15 stated that the Government would take legal proceedings against Schneider, an armaments firm in the Schneider-Creusot group. It is alleged that torpedo gas-tanks and other war material have been supplied by this firm (and by the Brunon-Valette Company) stamped with false dies in order to evade Government inspection.

It was stated in Paris on September 17 that the Government intended to introduce a scheme providing for compulsory physical training for all young Frenchmen attending schools. After the age of 18 years the training would be of a "pre-military" character.

### GERMANY

The French Minister of Commerce, M. Bastid, reached Berlin on September 15 from Warsaw. He had a two-hour conversation with Dr. Schacht, Minister of Economics, and also met the Finance Minister. M. Bastid left for Paris the same day.

The German Foreign Minister, Baron von Neurath, arrived in Budapest on September 19, and had an interview of over an hour with the Hungarian Foreign Minister on the following day.

The autumn manoeuvres of the German land and air forces commenced on September 21, and were stated to be on a larger scale than any held in Germany since before the Great War.

### GREAT BRITAIN

It was stated on September 16 that a plan for the protection of important public services against air raids was in course of preparation.

Discussions with representatives of the Danish, Finnish, Norwegian, and Swedish Governments opened in London on September 15, with the object of obtaining the adherence of these countries to the principles of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement.

### ITALY

It was officially announced in Rome on September 16 that a meeting would shortly be called at Vienna of the Foreign Ministers of Austria, Hungary, and Italy, in accordance with the terms of the Rome Protocols of 1934.

### JAPAN

Under the pretext of providing "greater protection" for Japanese residents in Hankow and Shanghai, reinforcements will be made to Japanese naval strength in Chinese waters.

According to a Tokio message dated September 21, these reinforcements will consist of fresh landing parties.

### LEAGUE OF NATIONS

It was stated on September 22 that the League Credentials Committee had reached no decision concerning the rights of the Ethiopian delegation to sit and vote in the Assembly, but that the Committee required information as to whether in fact a Government existed in Western Abyssinia.

### PALESTINE

A message from the Jerusalem Correspondent of "The Times" dated September 21 stated that "the great mass of the Arabs in Palestine are setting hopes on the intervention of the Wahabi King, the King of Iraq, and other Arab Princes, and news of this, according to the newspaper 'Falastin', is expected daily. It is believed that this intervention will take the form of an invitation to the Arabs of Palestine to abandon their campaign of resistance and trust to the good faith and justice of the British Government. Such an invitation, it is stated in competent Arab quarters, would probably be accepted with relief by the whole country as an honourable issue from the struggle."

### POLAND

Economic agreements with Italy were signed on September 14, in which a "large increase" in deliveries of Polish coal is said to be provided for.

The Foreign Minister, Colonel Beck, had a conference in Geneva on September 19 with M. Antonescu, Rumanian Foreign Minister, which the official "Gazeta Polska" subsequently characterized as "very fruitful".

The "Gazeta Polska" stated on September 20 that demands for colonies would be made in Geneva.

### PORTUGAL

A decree issued on September 16 authorized the formation of a "Portuguese Legion", which will consist of volunteers and will be used to "combat revolutionary doctrines".

### SWEDEN

A general election took place on September 20, and preliminary results indicate that the parties of the Left obtained an increased number of votes.

### U.S.A.

The final section of the report of the Senate committee which has been inquiring into the armaments trade, was published on September 17. The report states that the Dupont Company of America possesses some stock in a German holding company, and exchanges patents and inventions with a German munitions company.

Elections held in the State of Maine on September 14 resulted in a Republican Governor, Senator, and three Republican Members of the House of Representatives being elected.

## Britain Silent on League Reform

PROPOSALS for the revision of the Covenant of the League of Nations have now been submitted by seventeen Governments, and a study of the various proposals has been issued by the League Secretariat.

A suggestion that in votes taken under article 11 of the Covenant, the votes of the parties to a dispute should not be taken into consideration, is made by the Colombian, Danish, Estonian, Finnish, French, and Swedish Governments. Latvia and Norway suggest that an ordinary majority vote should be sufficient for matters dealt with under this article.

Most of the Governments are against making military sanctions universal although New Zealand takes a contrary view. Regional pacts of mutual assistance are proposed by several States, including France and Russia.

No proposals have yet been put forward by the British Government, and the Women's Peace Crusade last week sent a letter to the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary, stating that the way to meet present difficulties "is not by weakening the authority and power of the League, but by increasing mutual reliance and solidarity of purpose, and . . . by a renewed attempt to win agreement on a Convention limiting and reducing armaments and establishing international control."

The Women's Peace Crusade also "believes it essential that full opportunity should be provided for the free and open discussion of all grievances which might be provocative of war, and for the adoption of such measures as may be generally agreed upon as right and just for their removal".



## Drama Notes

## THE DEAD SPEAK

MISS Winifred Carter, the author of that successful play *Moloch*, has recently written a new one-act play entitled *Though One Rose from the Dead*. It requires one female and five male characters and is shortly to be published by "The King's Stone Press".

The play takes the form of a conversation between three dead soldiers, before they proceed on "the last journey". Their dead bodies lie before them throughout the play.

They speak of the utter futility of war and the unnecessary horrors, compared to the peacefulness of their surroundings on the "other side".

The Englishman tells his French and German companions that he wants to return and make the people see the folly of their actions. He tries to speak to a Frenchwoman, who is searching the battlefield for her son.

I want you to listen! You're a woman! I want you to go to the other women. Tell them to refuse to have children until the world is made safe for them. There is a way! Find it!

But she cannot hear him. The German then says:

All humanity is looking in the wrong direction, brooding over the dead, instead of waking up to save the living. It is written: "If they believed not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they believe though one rose from the dead."

Although there is no gripping climax, as in "*Moloch*", this is a good propaganda drama, showing that war is nothing less than a wholesale slaughter of one's own brothers and sisters.

JOHN ATHEY.

## Introducing the

## FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

The Fellowship of Reconciliation owes its inception to a group of Christian pacifists who met at Cambridge in the autumn of 1914, just after the outbreak of war.

Its policy is the affirmation and dissemination of the view that love, as expressed in the Christ-life, is the only

## I.V.S.P. DIRECTORY

The following addresses conclude our directory of Regional and Local Honorary Secretaries of the International Voluntary Service for Peace.

Those printed in bold type are Regional Secretaries, the others being Local Secretaries.

**SOUTH EASTERN.** Edward Goodman, I.V.S.P., c/o Youth House, 250 Camden Road, London, N.W.1.

**CAMBRIDGE.** Cecil Robert, 1 Norwich Street.

**NORWICH.** Miss Violet Crowe, 420 Earlham Road.

**OXFORD.** Harvey Dunkley, Home Close, Eden Drive, Gt. Headley, Headington, Oxford.

**YORKSHIRE.** Miss Jessie Moorhouse, 1 Lyddon Terrace, Leeds 2

**DEWSBURY.** Albert Swallow, 8 Hope Street.

**HUDDERSFIELD.** Miss Dorothy Brook, Winsford, Longley Lane.

**HULL.** Gordon Bishop, 40 Loveridge Avenue.

**SHEFFIELD.** Miss Irene Gay, 32 Dunkeld Road, Sheffield, 11.

practical basis for human society, that war is definitely forbidden by this love and that the causes of war can only be removed by the positive overcoming of evil with good.

During the past year the Fellowship has held many public meetings at

RECENT PUBLICATIONS  
BRIEF REVIEWS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETSTHE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE.  
Richard Gregg. Routledge. 5s.

THE publication of a revised and popular edition of Richard Gregg's book is an event of incalculable importance in the world of today and has, of course, special significance for members of the Peace Pledge Union. It is a pathetic comment upon European civilization that the fundamental principles of its religious leader should have had to wait until 1936 for a clear exposition upon the power of non-violent resistance.

The author has had unique opportunities of studying his subject in labour troubles in the United States of America, and later spent several years in India where the philosophy of non-violence has held its own for many centuries. Mr. Gregg lays before his readers not only the methods by which individuals can train themselves in non-violent tactics but demonstrates in simple language the reason why such tactics are the only solution, not only to national but also to class struggles.

The notes at the end of the book indicate the thoroughness with which the author has undertaken his task and gives the studious reader a valuable guide to an intensive study upon the whole question. To those who have neither the time nor the inclination to study the voluminous literature which has been given to this subject by the thinkers of the world the book itself offers in simple form the basic principles upon which a movement such as the Peace Pledge Union must base its policy and activities.

It is a book which every constructive pacifist ought to possess if he can afford to pay 5s.

PHILIP MUMFORD.

## WALLS HAVE MOUTHS. W. F. R. Macartney. Gollancz. 10s. 6d.

An offence against the Official Secrets Act was responsible for Mr. Macartney receiving a ten years' sentence; he actually served 8½ years of this, and spent all his time at Parkhurst. His book is a terrible indictment of an obsolete system.

He is in no doubt that the officials concerned are not, in the long run, to blame for the brutality which is a feature of prison life, and he is equally sure that a change in the system itself is what is required. In this view he is supported by Mr. Compton Mackenzie who has written the prologue and epilogue in addition to some comments at the ends of the chapters.

If this exposure of shocking conditions does not result in action on the part of the authorities, public opinion will have been guilty of grave apathy.

WORLD LABOUR PROBLEMS, 1936.  
C. A. Macartney. League of Nations Union. 3d.

This is a short, popular account of the 20th International Labour Conference at Geneva. All the important events of the Conference have been recorded, and the comments help to reproduce the atmosphere in which it took place.

which George Lansbury, Canon H. R. L. Sheppard, Dr. Donald Soper and others have spoken. A series of lunch-hour addresses were arranged each week throughout last winter at Friends' House, Euston Road, and large meetings were also held at Newcastle, Leeds, Manchester, Sheffield, Leicester, Reading and Edinburgh.

The F.O.R. has a membership of nearly 4,000 and publishes its own magazine, "Reconciliation".

The address of the Fellowship is 17, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1. The Chairman is Canon C. E. Raven, and the General Secretary P. W. Bartlett, to whom applications for literature or enrolment forms should be addressed.

THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE.  
Stafford Cripps. Gollancz. 7s. 6d.

Economic factors are cited by Sir Stafford Cripps as the cause of wars, and much of the book reflects the author's views that world peace can only be reached by an association of nations which have become to a large extent socialist.

He points out that the crises of a capitalist state can only be "solved" by an armaments programme, and even this "solution" is only a temporary one. It is not surprising, therefore, that the idea of a collective security system is looked upon by Sir Stafford Cripps as a dangerous one in a capitalist world.

Although the author realizes "to the full that it is inconsistent with Christian ethics to compromise with an expediency upon such a question" he takes "the view that it may be necessary to defend by force, but only if the object to be defended is one which satisfies the dictates of honesty and justice".

Not the least valuable part of the book is the collection of references and quotations which have been added to the text by Mr. Michael Foot.

STATISTICAL YEAR-BOOK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 1935-1936.  
League of Nations-Information Section, Geneva. 10s. (12s. 6d. in wrappers).

This book gives, as in previous years, a general view of the most important facts of economics, finance, and social life. The tables in which the facts are presented facilitate, as far as possible, comparisons between one country and another.

For those whose work in the cause of peace demands a comprehensive reference book giving information concerning a wide variety of subjects, this book is invaluable.

## Join the

## PEACE PLEDGE UNION

Copy out on a post-card this pledge:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign your name and address and send it to:—

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION

96 Regent Street, W.1,

who will be pleased to answer any questions.

## The Pacifist believes:—

1. That war, i.e. mass murder as a political policy, is morally wrong and consequently will never produce good results.

2. That security for nations, ideals or personal freedom, can be obtained only by non-violent resistance, by mental and not physical struggle—in other words, that the power of mind over matter, universally accepted in theory, has practical significance.

## FACTS AND FIGURES

## DEFENDING THE EMPIRE

The following figures were given recently by Mr. S. M. Bruce, High Commissioner for Australia, to show the proportionate amounts spent on defence by the different parts of the Empire:—

|                | Per head   |
|----------------|------------|
| United Kingdom | £2 10. 6d. |
| Australia      | £1 1. 10d. |
| New Zealand    | 12. 6d.    |
| South Africa   | 12. 0d.    |
| Canada         | 5. 7d.     |

## RECRUITING

During the five months from April to August, 1936, 20,082 recruits were taken on the strength of the Territorial Army, compared with 12,526 in the corresponding period of 1935. This

## Facts about

## GAS ATTACKS\*

## VI

In the "Air-Raid Precautions Handbook No. 2", issued by the Home Office (Air-Raid Precautions Department), without any gross misrepresentations an incorrect impression is given of the dangers of war gases, and the possibilities of protection.

A reader not already familiar with the subject would not realize the danger of being caught in high concentrations of a gas such as phosgene.

In fact the sentence (page 12) "Only under exceptional conditions is there likely to be sufficient gas present in the air to render one or two breaths dangerous" is definitely misleading.

Nor would a reader appreciate the distance to which a gas cloud may travel, the dangers of pockets of gas which may persist for many hours, or the period during which mustard gas may persist.

\* From Socialist Medical Association pamphlet

(Lawrence & Wishart, 6d.)

represents an increase of 60.3 per cent. During last month the number of recruits was 765 as against 503 in August last year.

## SECRET SERVICE—THEN &amp; NOW

In our issue of September 5 we pointed out that the amount required for the Secret Service for the year 1936/37 was estimated at £350,000 compared with £180,000 for 1935/36.

The following figures show the fluctuations which have occurred in this expenditure in past years:—

|                                  |          |
|----------------------------------|----------|
| Average per year, 1774-1793      | £55,300  |
| Average per year, 1794-1798      | £168,800 |
| Average per year, 1906/7-1912/13 | £50,000  |

|                         |            |
|-------------------------|------------|
| Amount for year 1913/14 | £46,840    |
| Amount for year 1914/15 | £107,596   |
| Amount for year 1915/16 | £398,698   |
| Amount for year 1916/17 | £593,917   |
| Amount for year 1917/18 | £740,985   |
| Amount for year 1918/19 | £1,207,697 |

For the years 1920/21 to 1931/32 the average was approximately £180,000 per year.

(From information supplied by our Parliamentary Correspondent.)

## FOR PEACE DRAMATIC SOCIETIES

## JUST RELEASED:

## "MOLOCH"

By WINIFRED CARTER, 2/9 post free.

1 set. 4 males, 4 females.

VIDE PRESS: "The play has humour as well as pathos, light as well as shade, and in writing it the author has given a valuable contribution to the cause of peace."

GENEROUS TERMS. Apply:

THE KING'S STONE PRESS,

20a, Lower Teddington Road, Kingston-on-Thames.

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Ought We To Fight?**"The ONLY Effectual Way to True Peace"**

The following concludes the extracts we are publishing from an article entitled "Ought We to Fight?" by Stephen Hobhouse, in the current issue of "The Hibbert Journal". The first selection of extracts from this article appeared in PEACE NEWS last week.

THE Christian pacifist believes that the acceptance of suffering at the hands of the unjust by persons who have chosen to be defenceless as regards material weapons, while trying from their hearts to forgive the aggressor, is the **only** effectual way to true and permanent peace; and that at best only a false and insecure peace can be won by the endeavour—even by an internationally organized endeavour—to inflict a greater suffering on the unjust for the purposes of deterrence and retribution.

As Gandhi has said prophetically, true "ahimsa", that is non-violence, is the weapon not of the weak and abject, but of the strong who are confident that, in spite of temporary outward failure, love and faith will win in the end.

Honour may, indeed, require the pacifist to die for his country. (It is perhaps not irrelevant to recall that some seventy of the conscientious objectors during 1916-18—many of whom might have kept "safe jobs" without difficulty—died as the result of their repeated imprisonments under unusually harsh conditions, while others who shared their convictions laid down their lives in the war-zone on Red Cross service.) But ordinarily he feels that honour requires him to live, in order to express, even under conditions of painful unpopularity and persecution, the essential sanity and peaceableness of mankind.

We control, in our colonial Empire, vast territories and alien populations, as well as places strategically threatening to other nations. Over all these we have no national right, they are

certainly not indispensable to our civilized existence, and indeed the great mass of our population probably reaps no benefit at all from them.

Yet our statesmen would admittedly be prepared, rather than let some at least of these alien territories, styled "British possessions," pass under a form of foreign or international control, to plunge with open eyes our own country and all Europe into a catastrophic war, in which it is quite certain that hundreds of thousands—indeed probably millions of men, women, and children, would die miserably from shells and bombs, disease and starvation.

Or they would be ready to initiate a similar world catastrophe in order to expiate some humiliation to the British flag, some injury or outrage suffered by a handful of British nationals. What a strange notion of honour!

There are risks in unilateral disarmament, but they are far less than those of war. Such disarmament has never yet been put to the test of experience, except in the case of quite small groups and of the Quaker State of Pennsylvania.

There it did, in fact, succeed in preserving peace and justice in the State's relationships with war-like Indian tribes, as long as those who had faith in it remained in control.

Courage and trust, like fear and suspicion, are infectious. If only the voice of one nation gave the signal, mankind might enter upon the brightest phase of its chequered history.

**THE MEANING OF  
"DEFENCE"**

The total weight of all the bombs dropped on England by German aeroplanes during the whole of the war was of the order of fifty tons.

Now fifty tons of bombs could be brought from the other side of the Rhine by a single squadron and dropped on London in one night.

These words were used by Mr. A. L. Rawlings in an address on the final day of the British Association Conference at Blackpool last week.

With them we should like to couple the now famous remark of Mr. Baldwin that there is no defence against air-raids except attack, which, he said, meant that we have got to kill more women and children more quickly than the enemy.

Later on in his speech Mr. Rawlings disclaimed any intention to make a scare, saying that "if there is any possibility that air raids may again be made on this country these facts must be faced and no item of national defence deserves more consideration and preparation."

We also have no wish to engage in scaremongering, but would merely emphasize that the very fact of the terrible efficiency of the modern bomber, coupled with the impossibility of any real "defence", is the strongest possible argument for pursuing a constructive policy designed to cut at the very roots of war itself.

If we prepare for what is euphemistically called "defence" (i.e. attack) the result will but be an increased certainty of the "other man's 'defence'" being launched upon our heads, since the "other man" must destroy us first to prevent our destroying him first!

**RACE PREJUDICE IN  
ENGLAND**

THE objectionable prejudice against coloured visitors to London is referred to in a letter to "The Friend" from Mr. Herbert J. Abraham, of George School, Pennsylvania.

He relates an experience which befell two members of a party of American teachers who arrived in London recently from Russia. At the hotel to which the party were sent by the representatives of the steamship company, these two teachers (who were

**A PACIFIST'S "IF"**

VI.

IF the church can sanction violence in the winning or maintenance of national freedom, what answer is she to return to those who maintain that the rich are the real oppressors and that the workers should resort to arms that their freedom may be won?

coloured) were refused admission.

One of the party who told Mr. Abrahams of the incident stated that this experience on their first day in England contrasted so strongly with their experience in Russia as to be a convincing argument for communism.

The Truth about Spain is the title of an article by Max Nettlau, the veteran revolutionary historian, in "Freedom", the Spanish information bulletin of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. (National Confederation of Labour and Anarchist Federation of Iberia respectively).

"Freedom", which is published at 1d. by The Freedom Publication Committee, will appear from time to time immediately information is received from the C.N.T. and F.A.I. through the International Working Men's Association, to whom these organizations are affiliated.

# THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE

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ROUTLEDGE



## FORTHCOMING MEETINGS

### September

27. 9 a.m. Friends' Meeting House, Wellington Street, Northampton; first meeting of group to study Richard Gregg's "Power of Non-violence"; arranged by Peace Pledge team.

7.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Rawdon; meeting to be addressed by Mrs. Wallhead Nichol; arranged by No More War Movement.

7.45 p.m. Albert Hall, Bolton; mass demonstration to be addressed by Philip Noel Baker, M.P., Professor Maurice Dobb, Miss A. Ruth Fry, and others; arranged by Bolton Peace Week Committee.

8.15 p.m. Friends Hall, Greenleaf Road, Walthamstow; public meeting to be addressed by Gerald Heard; arranged by Friends Hall Peace Group and Walthamstow Peace Pledge Team.

28. 4 p.m. Bluecoat Chambers, Church Street, Liverpool; opening of peace shops by Dr. Olaf Stapledon in connexion with peace week organized by Merseyside Peace Council.

8 p.m. Mechanics Institute, Horsforth; meeting to be addressed by Mrs. Wallhead Nichol; arranged by No More War Movement.

8 p.m. Rechabite Hall, Salisbury; monthly meeting of F.O.R. to receive conference reports and arrange winter campaign.

8 p.m. Raven's Hall, Victoria Circus, Southend; public meeting to hear reports from delegates to Brussels Congress.

8 p.m. Petition Club, 23 Grosvenor Place, London, S.W.1; Mr. John Park on "The Tragedy of Spain"; Younger Generations.

28—October 3. Liverpool; peace week, including Liverpool Peace Shop; under auspices of Merseyside Peace Council.

29. 6.30 p.m. King George's Hall, Y.M.C.A., Great Russell Street, W.C.1; conference of teachers on the Brussels Congress; organized by National Peace Council.

7.30 p.m. 7 Southgate Street, Launceston; first meeting of Launceston and District Peace Pledge team.

7.30 p.m. Brownie Café, Pride Hill, Shrewsbury; meeting of local Peace Pledge signatories.

7.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Portland Street, Southport; inaugural meeting of Peace Pledge team to be addressed by Canon S. D. Morris.

8 p.m. Women's Institute Hall, St. John's Road, Epping; meeting to be addressed by Rev. A. D. Belden on "Future of the Church

regarding war"; arranged by F.O.R.

30. Victoria Hall, Sheffield; public meeting to be addressed by Muriel Wallhead-Nichol; arranged by No More War Movement.

### October

1. 3 p.m. Napier Street Cooperative Institute, Sheffield; women's meeting to be addressed by Mrs. Muriel Wallhead-Nichol; arranged by No More War Movement.

7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Woburn Sands; open meeting to be addressed by J. R. Battley for P.P.U.

8 p.m. Lyonsdown Hall, Lyonsdown Road, East Barnet; public meeting to be addressed by Captain Mumford and Rev. C. W. N. Harrison; arranged by P.P.U.

8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Central Square, Hampstead Garden Suburb; "public inaugural meeting" to be addressed by Rev. Henry Carter on "Europe and ourselves"; arranged by Peace Pledge Union.

8 p.m. Granville Hall, Granville Road, North Finchley; Bernard Lawson on "The outlook for the conscientious objector to war"; arranged by Finchley and district F.O.R.

8 p.m. Town Hall, Lewisham; public meeting to be addressed by Dr. A. Salter and Canon S. D. Morris; arranged by P.P.U. and S.E. Christian Pacifist Council.

2. 7.30 p.m. Holywell Cross Schoolroom, Chesterfield; joint meeting of Methodist Peace Fellowship and Peace Pledge Union.

8 p.m. Drummond Road Baptist Church, Bermondsey; Mr. J. B. Barclay at inaugural meeting of Bermondsey P.P.U.

8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Holyhead Road, Coventry; Canon S. D. Morris to address signatories of Peace Pledge.

3. 3 p.m. St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, London; United Service; preacher, Dr. Maude Royden; London Regional Federation, League of Nations Union, 43 Russell Square, W.C.1.

### ACTIVITY IN CARDIFF

At its first annual general meeting on Friday of last week, the Cardiff and District Movement against War formed itself into a Peace Council, with a constitution similar to the "model" recommended by the National Peace Council.

A large public meeting on November 15, at which General Crozier and Fenner Brockway will speak, is one of the activities to be undertaken by this council in the near future.

### Letters to the Editor

#### FALLACY OF COLLECTIVE "SECURITY"

Dear Sir,—It is currently assumed that collective action to stop aggression is the only guarantee of peace. This is, I think, in broad terms, the official government view. Sincere believers in the League of Nations deplore the fact that collective action was not fully applied and an act of aggression was therefore allowed to proceed.

I am anxious to point out however that had collective action been fully applied, by economic and military sanctions, peace would not have been guaranteed and aggressiveness would not have been expelled from our midst.

I draw my conclusions from the Great War. Several nations—now members of the League—agreed upon and put into practice with all their might, collective action against the aggressor in 1914. They had an absolutely free hand and, incidentally, the help of the U.S.A., which the League has not.

The result, as we know, of this collective action was not a small war but four years of frightful slaughter for all concerned. At the end of the action, the aggressor was crushed.

So much so that a "peace" was dictated at the pistol point and all his armour in which he trusted was taken from him; his women and children starved in thousands, long after the Armistice was signed; he was humiliated beyond measure; his few plums, of colonial possession, were taken from him.

Collective action had, apparently, crushed the aggressor—albeit at appalling cost.

Eighteen years after such a complete "triumph" of collective action, one aggressor has not lost one whit of his aggressiveness but is now feared by most of the collectivists! Furthermore the aggressive spirit has been caught by more than one of the nations which took part in the collective action against the aggressor!

It is beyond my comprehension how anyone can imagine, in face of these facts, that collective action can have any other result than the repression of the aggressive spirit, which will break out sooner or later in a more virulent form. **Collective security is merely the repression of evil by punitive methods and has no relation whatever to redemptive action which alone can lead to peace.**

Such redemptive action can, in my opinion, only be put into practice by Christian pacifism, which is a power divorced from every form of violence and whose only weapon is moral force. The technique of pacifism—or activism, as it is more aptly described—is the only method which is producing real success in dealing with dangerous criminals, lunatics and savages. Such a technique can, and must, be applied to international affairs if peace is to be obtained.

S. C. W. GILL.

"Winsford", 55, Pembury Avenue, Worcester Park, Surrey.

#### NEW DEVIL AND NEW HELL

Dear Sir,—That old-fashioned hell of our forefathers, with its grim old devil and blazing flames of fire and brimstone, is seldom heard of today from our pulpits. The self-complacent congregations have no desire to hear about such disquieting things, and so there are no more heavy sighs and trembling knees as used to be in bygone days when preachers thundered forth those fearful warnings of a future doom.

Surely the time has come for the occupants of our pulpits to exhort their

(continued at foot of col. 4)

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### LITERATURE

#### THE LAST WEAPON and THE WEAPON UNSHEATHED

by Theodora Wilson Wilson

20,000 copies of "The Last Weapon" were destroyed by the police during the Great War.

A few remaining copies are to be obtained from the London Union of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 165 Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1. Price 1/3d. each, post free.

### MEETINGS

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union). A Fellowship Hour, for communion with God and each other, led by Rev. Alan Balding, is being held the third Monday in each month from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m., at 165 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

#### P.P.U. LONDON TEAM LEADERS.

There will be a meeting of London team leaders at 8 o'clock on September 29 at 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

### PERSONAL

#### Would COUNCILLOR KEATING

kindly write to the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, W.1, as his address has unfortunately been mislaid.

### WHERE TO STAY

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(continued from col. 3)

hearers against the perils of quite a new kind of devil and new hell; and to do so with the fiery eloquence of a John Knox.

This new devil is none other than ourselves, and the new hell is the one which we appear to be making for our future habitation.

He has slain our prophets and crucified our teachers, and in so doing we have been brought out of harmony with the rudimentary principles of humanity. Let us be human beings once more, and not wild creatures of the jungle who have never heard the voice of the God of heaven speaking to them through Jesus Christ.

Old-time preachers, in frenzied accents, used to cry forth from their pulpits, "Escape for thy life!" We sadly need such spiritual admonition today in regard to this new devil and new hell. That is, of course, if we do not return to the commonsense of Christianity, and its sound ethical reasoning; without which there can be no hope for this mad misguided world.

HENRY HAMMOND.

"Hill Crest", Ashford Avenue, Hornsey, N.8.

Printed for the "Peace News" Group, 59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11, by A. Graves, 8/10 Stanhope Street, London, N.W.1.

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